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the social life of the community the men function as units apart from the women. One outward manifestation of masculine solidarity is the men's house, their club-house, which the women may not enter. Most of the feasts are also purely masculine affairs. The dances, too, maintain the social division of the sexes. For months before a rite the women will rehearse every night at one end of the village, while the men practise their dance at the other end. On the day of the ritual event the same sex distinction is maintained in the dancing. (This rule is broken on a few occasions.) In the general social life of the community, whether that be the hamlet or village, it is the women who meet to cook, to gossip, and to dance, while the men come together to fish, to eat, to talk, to dance, and also to gossip. In the family life, except in the case of taboo relatives, the sexes mingle freely in their social intercourse. But in the social life of the community the two keep quite apart.

Thus, an individual born into this society becomes automatically a member of various groups. His sex will determine one group; he will inherit his clan and moiety from his mother; his place of residence (house, hamlet, and village) will depend upon where his parents live. This grouping will influence him for the rest of his life.

While the infant is a member of all these groups at birth, they do not all begin to function at the same time. At birth, certain close relatives surround him, and it is from these that he obtains the first impressions of the world. Gradually this group is enlarged until it includes his whole immediate family, then the clan, and finally the moiety. In the same way, as he grows older, he becomes aware of a community larger than his household. When he can crawl about, the hamlet becomes his playground, and later, as a child, he roams through the village. As an adult he will go to near-by villages for ritual events, particularly those in which members of his own clan are concerned. But he

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taro which is not cooked in the bundles), and as she beats she tells how she did not want her son to marry because she thought he was too young, but how he did marry anyway. She appears amused with the incident, and tells it rather as a good story, showing no evidence of chagrin.

After about two hours or so of this lazy conversation, fourteen Ambwa women appear in the open clearing in front of the house where the infant now lies. They are gaily decorated with *kerapo* leaves stuck in their hair and in their armbands (*biuk*). Seven of the women belong to the Eagle moiety and seven to the Hawk, and they now do the *Kanduro* dance. It is a dance done in two-line formation; one line is made up of the Hawk women, and the other of the Eagle women. One Eagle woman (same moiety as the infant) leads the others in. She beats a bamboo pole with a stick and stands in front of the two lines of women and addresses the Hawk women in an angry tone: "You Hawk women have come. Now, we have no women. All the Eagle women have died. We have no Eagle men here either." This, I am told, is not true, and everyone knows it. It is just "talk play," a kind of polite depreciation, and is customary at this rite.

Then follows the dance. Maerabit, from Lesu, as usual plays the part of the jester, and rushes on the scene beating a drum, circles around the dancers, and goes through many absurd antics, maintaining a serious countenance at the same time. The effect is quite droll. She has a real sense of gaiety and rhythm in her movements. The audience greets her antics with loud shouts of appreciative laughter.

When the dance is over another group of women of the Hawk moiety, married to men of the clan to which the infant belongs, come on the scene, each carrying some food utensil. One by one they make a speech about the abilities of their husbands as food providers. One woman holds up a basket, saying: "My husband gets much food at

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593 been chatting enjoyably. Quite frequently her daughter, Batu, a young girl just past puberty, will tell her that it is time to feed the pigs. It must be remembered that in both the incidents just described the children had reached puberty, but, what is more important, they were behaving according to the social pattern. It was Pulong's duty to feed the pigs at this time. It is expected that children will run away from home to the place where their clan relatives live. If the child follows the social pattern, the adult, even though personally inconvenienced, has no authority to make him do otherwise.

857 Both boys and girls participate in the ritual dancing as soon as they are able to walk. Little girls of six follow 535 behind their mothers at the dance rehearsals, and by the 868 time they are ten or eleven participate in the dances at the rites. The boys participate similarly in the male dances. For several nights after a rite is over, very young children from about four up will be found on the beach dancing in imitation of the adult dances they have recently witnessed. The children have leaves twined around their hair and stuck in their *biuk* (arm band) just as the older dancers.

867 As the children learn the dances, so also do they learn the rules of kinship behaviour, even though they are not fully enforced until after puberty. Although the parents are both 593 protectors and disciplinarians, it does not mean that there is no affection between them and their children. After a child has passed his suckling period there is not the demonstrativeness of affection between him and his parents, as there was in infancy, but that it exists is evidenced by the care lavished on the child. Sometimes I have even seen the inverse, that is, an attitude of solicitude on the part of a child for his parent. One little girl was very much worried when her father climbed a tree with its trunk slippery and wet from recent rain. Another girl was cast down and worried when her mother was ill.

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the enclosure, while the women trudge home with baskets filled with bundles of baked taro on their backs. Shortly afterward the men too return home, each one carrying on a pole over his shoulder the coconuts which had been given him. The enclosure has been completed; the men who built it have been paid with food; now, in another moon, the first rites will be held.

WOMEN'S DANCES

A few nights later all the women of Lesu begin their dance rehearsals. They practise separately from the women of Tagam. At the first rehearsal they sit in a circle around the fire on the ground in front of Ballock's house. He is the teacher, and sits with his back to them and sings. Gradually they join in the singing. After a while he blows on his conch shell and the women stand up and, still singing, move in circular formation to the left, bending the right knee with each step. Ballock continues sitting with his back to them. At intervals they stop singing, always on a high note, then begin again. After some time they sit down and sing as they did in the beginning. Then they begin to dance again. This continues for about three hours before the women go home. The song accompanying the dance is known to the women, but the dance is new.

The rehearsals are held nightly, and become more complicated with each repetition, the dance going into various figures, line, square, and circle formations. After the first week or so the rehearsals are not held in front of Ballock's house, but in an open clearing in the hamlet of Penguli. Here every night, after the evening meal is finished (about 8.30), the women gather and dance. The men are not present. On a few nights, after some particularly strenuous day, when the women are tired, the rehearsals are omitted. The men, too, have begun their dance rehearsals at

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another place, and at one feast Ballock urges them to dance well, otherwise he says the women will not like them.

Like the dancing, the accompanying music is traditional, but frequently there are variations in the former. Ballock has evidently, as far as I can ascertain, made up the variations on the particular dance he is teaching the women. Sometimes if a boy from another island is in the village, he will teach the natives a dance from his island. One of my servants, though a native of New Ireland, had worked for a long time in the white man's capital, Rabaul, in New Britain, and she taught the Lesu women a dance she had learned there.[1] Frequently boys from different islands, working on one plantation, teach each other their dances. Out of the growing contact between the natives from various islands, it appears that the dance is the cultural trait which is the most easily and frequently diffused.

In the meantime the growth of the new moon is watched with interest, for when it is full that will be the time for the rites.

The last two nights preceding the rites the rehearsing is very much in earnest. Just before this they had slackened a bit. At the end of the next to last one, which is held earlier than the others at dusk, each woman pays Ballock one stick of tobacco for his instruction. Most of them go to bed early, for the morrow will be a strenuous day.

Early in the morning the women, carrying the taro on their backs, start off for the hamlet of Ponatlege. Arriving there are also women from Ambwa, Langania, and the other hamlets of Lesu. About seventy-five or a hundred women are present. Immediately they begin the usual cooking preparations. Most of the men from Tagam are busy bringing in leaves and building the *liga*, but a few old ones sit on the ground doing nothing. At intervals the *kolamuth* is

[1] The Lesu women asked me if I would teach them a dance from my country. I refrained.

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Early in the morning, on the day of the rites, the *kolamuth* is sounded at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and look at the unpainted *malanggans* which have been placed in the little grass house. In about fifteen minutes they emerge into the open compound. This is just the preliminary appearance of the *malanggan*, because the boys are coming out of the enclosure to-day.[1]

In the open compound the men and women sit in their separate groups, chatting. There is a general air of expectancy. Soon singing is heard in the distance. It comes closer. The women get up and go inside the open cook-house, and most of the men go inside the enclosure, although a few remain outside in the compound. The eight boys, accompanied by twenty men (from Tagam), advance into the compound in block formation of five lines, singing. This is called the *Bumän* dance. The hair of the boys is painted red, and each one carries a bundle of baked taro and a piece of pig's entrails wrapped in leaves. They halt and stop singing. Takou, the father of two of the boys and the maker of one of the *malaggans* to be displayed, then steps out and speaks. "All of you have come because of these boys. Now this *Bumän* rite is done in Ponatlege. My mother knew this *Bumän* in Penguli where she lived. To-day the *Bumän* is done in Ponatlege. Suppose my mother had not known the *Bumän*, then I, Takou, could not know it. I talk to all you men and to all you women. I have talked enough. Suppose you have a big man; he will talk much more to you. But I am a little boy.[2] All of you, all the men, all the women, all the Luluai (chiefs), all of us have come here for this little *malanggan*. That's all. Suppose it is big *malanggan* rite, then there would be a big speech. But Ponatlege is a new place,

[1] When they come out they will go to the Mission school. In the past they would have stayed within the enclosure until the finished *malanggans* were displayed. Now when they come out the unpainted *malanggans* are shown.

[2] The speaker is a large, adult man, but the custom is to belittle oneself.

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my clan relatives to learn about this *malanggan*. Now I live in the hamlet of Simbelmalum. Now I have made[1] the *malanggan* and have brought it to Ponatlege. It is not good that later you will say, Sola he lied. No, it is true, I learned about this *malanggan* from my clan relatives. Mekeo wants this *malanggan*, and so I have given it to him. All of you men from Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania have another kind of *malanggan*. Mine is different from yours. That "bed" on which the two pigs are resting is the custom in Tabar. It is different from the kind of "bed" you make here. I cannot make a long speech. I am an old man. I have finished talking."

Now the men and the boys go inside the enclosure, where they sit on the ground around the walls facing the unpainted *malanggans*. The two roasted pigs are in front of it. Two men[2] stand up behind the *malanggan*, so that they are only visible from the waist up. One has a bird's beak in his mouth and a brightly coloured bird's tail in his hair. The other has a crown of feathers and also a beak in his mouth. Both men are wearing their *kepkep* (breast ornament). Their hands are clasped in back. They sway from right to left rhythmically. The men and boys who were doing the *Bumän* dance outside now continue with the same dance, and are led by the two swaying men. The boys drop out of the dance and sit down by the walls on each side of the enclosure. The men continue dancing and begin to sing also. The dance stops and they all sit down. Then Lungow (a member of the same moiety, but not of the same clan), who has been beating the *kolamuth*, speaks: "You see this *Kanda* (the stick with which he beats

[1] That is, he taught the carver how to make it.

[2] One of these two men is Mekeo, father of one of the boys. The other is a member of his clan. They perform their role in the dance because they know it, rather than because of their kinship to the boys.

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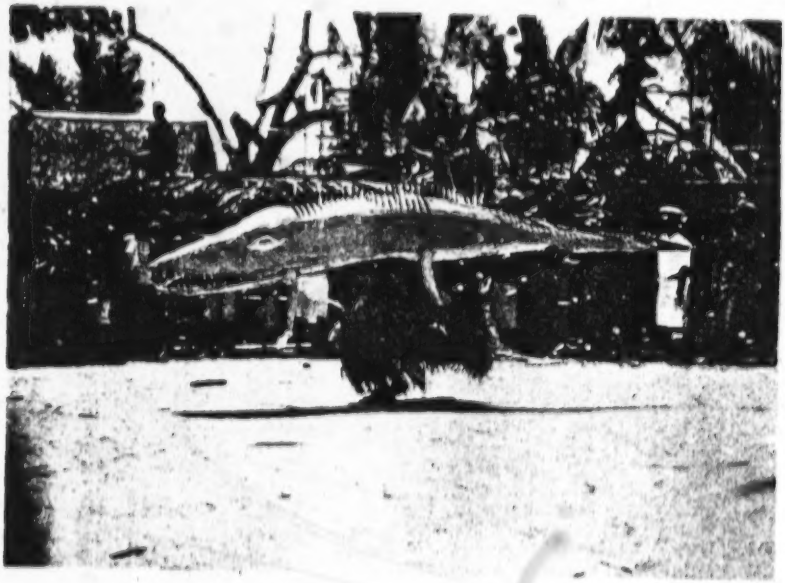

CROCODILE FIGURE IN DANCE

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PIG DANCE

[Facing p.120]

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when Sola gives a hiss as a signal, place it on the plates. The men return to the big pile of taro, pick up some more, advance in a body to the plates, and wait for the signal which is given this time by Towni. He says, "*Arurini la pulla*" ("put them down"). And this is repeated each time a portion of the food is put on the plates. When the food has been distributed, each plate contains about ten baked taro, fifteen bananas, and a couple of large pieces of pig, about 5 lb. perhaps. This portion is for three men, all of whom sit around one plate. As soon as all the food is distributed, Sola and Takou walk the length of the enclosure and back again, each one holding a small bone (rib of the pig). They are silent, and so too is everyone else. With a rather dramatic gesture they throw the bones away. This is the signal for everyone to begin eating. After they have eaten for a little while, Sola advances, bird's beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure. All the men cry in chorus, "Walik Ah!" The only explanation is that it is one of the customs peculiar to the *Walik malanggan.*

The pig lying on the ground is now cut up, and Sola talks over it: "This pig has been cut, now distribute it; half will go to the women outside." The pig is then distributed on the plates. Finally the men finish eating, and then they wash their hands in the sea, put the remains of the food in the basket, which they take out to the women. Some of the taboo pig was not eaten, but it remains inside the enclosure.

The initial rites held for the boys coming out of the enclosure, and for the first showing of the *malanggan*, are finished for the present, and will be continued about six weeks later, when the completed painted *malanggans* are displayed. During this interval all the men of Lesu rehearse their dances every evening just before sunset. Those men who are not in the dance watch the others, but no woman

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sees them. The women of Tagam, but not those of Lesu, also practise their dances daily.

The week before the big rites is one of intensive preparation. There are the final dance rehearsals. Bananas are carried on poles to Ponatlege to be buried in the sand there. The *malanggans* are receiving their final coats of paint, and the dancing masks, *anis*, are being finished. This work is being done in the men's house, where it is taboo for women to come. The impending rites are the main subject of conversation, and there is a general air of expectancy.

Two days before the rites the women go to the gardens and bring in the taro which they carry to Ponatlege, where they begin the communal cooking. The *malanggans* are finished and covered with leaves. They are carried from the hamlet of Ponbumbu,[1] where they were made, to the enclosure at Ponatlege. When they have been placed within the little grass house the men eat within the enclosure. Taro, fish, and bananas is their feast.

On the late afternoon of the same day a dress rehearsal of the masked dance, *tselanith anis*, is held. The rehearsals up to now have been held in the compound of the men's house at Ponbumbu. But to-day the women are invited to witness a rehearsal held in the open compound. The men are very proud of their masks, and say quite frankly that they want the women to see them. It is obviously a vaunting display in front of the women. They arrive and, sitting on the ground in the open compound, wait for about an hour before the rehearsal begins. Snatches of singing and occasional blowing of the conch shell are heard from the men's house. The men beat the *kolamuth*, and finally the dancers emerge. After it is over the women go home. That night the men again practise within the enclosure of the men's house, more because they are excited about it than because there is any need for repetition.

[1] The carver lives in this hamlet.

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The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The men and women sit around in a large open space in the centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the women are on the other side; even quite young children observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day. Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

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one, and the hot masks and tight shirts add to the discomfort of the participants. Only the youngest and strongest men take part, and they are exhausted when it is over.

After a short interval, fourteen men from Langania enter and do a very similar dance. The masks, costumes, and music are identical, but there is a slight variation in the steps and form.

Following them, thirty men from Libba without masks dance. Their dance is one of elaborate figures and intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. No native interpretation of the figures and no conscious symbolism was attached to this dance.

In the interval following these three dances some of the Ponatlege women distribute a few taro and bananas to the other women, who eat them.

In the next dance the men from the village of Tandis have masks very cleverly representing owl heads (*dudul*). The entire body of each dancer is covered with leaves. The dance is in two-line formation, and one line is supposed to represent men and the other their ghosts. It was taught to the Tandis men by a man from the Kockopo district of New Hanover, now working on a plantation at Tandis.

In the next dance sixteen men wearing masks and costumes similar to the ones in the first dance form two lines, one of which sits on the ground and represents a snake who wants to eat the men in the other line, who stand and wave sticks representing spears. In the dance the men fight the "snake" with their spear and kill "it." All these movements form part of the dance, and though not too obvious are performed with sufficient realism to convey the idea.

There is one more dance, an intricate, abstract figure, by the men of Laummasong.

By now it is late afternoon, and the dancing is over for the day; the rites will be continued the next day. The men enter the men's house to eat,

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Early the next morning everyone again assembles at Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks, and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance, which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1] The action just described always occurs whenever there is ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).

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women who are the observers, with the one exception just described.

Following the women, the men of Fakmalak do a very dramatic dance for which an orchestra of both men and women is provided. The men beat the *kolamuth* and the women sing. (In the other dances, when there was an "orchestra," it was composed only of men.) In the centre of the clearing has been stuck a small young tree which represents the sago tree growing on the bank of a river. One man with a mask enters and dramatically cuts down the tree with a very small model of an axe. At first he finds it difficult, but finally he succeeds and the tree is felled. Then immediately an enormous crocodile (a man inside of a very clever representation) enters on the scene. The reptile tries to kill the man. After much skirmishing the man runs "upstage" and goes through the motions of calling for help. Immediately a line of men come in, armed with small sticks representing spears. They try to kill the "crocodile," but do not succeed. There enters another line of men, similarly armed, and combining their forces they succeed in "killing" the "crocodile." It is lifted up and placed in the centre of the circle as they dance around it. This final action is symbolic of putting it in the *liga* to be baked. Then the men sit down and vividly go through the gestures of eating, since they are now supposed to be eating the crocodile. When they finish this, they rise for the vigorous finale, symbolizing victory. The dance is performed with a real dramatic verve, and holds the intense interest of the audience.

Another dramatic dance, also by the men from Fakmalak, follows. The men wear the leaf shirt and painted masks of the *tselanith anis* dance performed earlier, and the dance is one of two-line formation, one line representing women and the other men. The "men" pursue the "women," who act coyly and at first refuse to yield. But finally the men succeed, and the two lines sit down opposite each other and

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each couple embraces. The audience greets the climax with laughter and hilarious shouts.

After this dance comes the distribution of food. Sixteen pigs are on top of the bamboo structure erected for this purpose, and bundles of uncooked taro hang beneath them. Sola, the most important old man in Tagam, and owner of one of the *malanggans* being displayed, stands on top of the pigs and speaks. He refers again to the fact that Ponatlege is a new place, and that this is the first time a *malanggan* has been made here. He also recalls how in the recent past this site was bush, where children played, and men had intercourse with their mistresses, and then how Mekeo came and cut down the trees and built the first house there. (Mekeo formerly came from the hamlet of Ponembua, where Sola lives.) Sola now calls out the names of all important old men of the clan, now dead, his father, Mekeo's father, etc. He says that the *malanggan* belongs to him and Mekeo, but that all the other men of Tagam have helped with their contributions and labour. He adds that the pigs on which he stands are for the feast and that his speech is finished.

Sixteen men have given the sixteen pigs, and the fathers of the boys who were circumcised are among the contributors. The remainder are all men from Tagam, and, speaking generally, they are all the adult men of any importance in Tagam, regardless of their relationship to the eight boys. But as a matter of fact, most of them are related in some way or other, since Tagam is small and several families have intermarried. The pigs, which have been singed and the entrails removed, are now cut up and distributed. Much excitement prevails, loud calling out of the names of the men to whom the pigs are being distributed and bustling activity. Uncooked taro tied together in bunches and bundles of baked taro, bananas, and small pieces of pig are given to the women. When the distribution is

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881 778 over, everyone goes home; the women with their heavily loaded baskets, and the men carrying the large portions of pig.

881 778 535 That night the dancing is continued at Ponatlege. The women of Tagam do the *Buruk* dance inside the enclosure of the men's house, where, under ordinary circumstances, they never go. This custom, which is an exception to the general rule, belongs exclusively to the *Walik malanggan*, now being displayed.

The women have the usual smearing of white lime on their faces, but the birds' feathers stuck in their hair are peculiar to this dance. A woman gets the feathers from her husband, to whom she pays a half *tsera*. A widow or unmarried girl obtains the feathers from her brother or father. The dance is one of rather intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. Those women who take no part in the dance sit within the enclosure of the men's house watching it. The men watch it from the outside, leaning against the fence and peering in. The dance continues rather monotonously for several hours, and then the women leave the enclosure in single file, walk around the outside, and return at another entrance. They now sit down and sing the same 881 refrain which accompanies the dance for several more 778 hours, far into the night, which concludes with promiscuous 786 intercourse. The only rule observed is the one of exogamy between the members of the same moiety. The custom is for a man to enter the house of any woman he desires. The men as usual pay *tsera* for the privilege.[1] For about a week 881 after this the women of Tagam sleep together in one 778 house, Mekeo's, while he and the other men sleep else-

[1] It is difficult to gather the exact extent of the promiscuity, because it is now frowned upon by the white Government and forbidden by the missions. I was told that the promiscuity following the dance just described was not carried on to quite the same degree as it was in the past. However, added my informants, very few of the men returned to their homes that night.

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A few boys and men (six of them) are allowed to come in during the night and watch them, for which privilege they pay *tsera* and tobacco to Sola and Mekeo. The observers must eat some of the fat from the pigs which have been killed for the feast to be held in the morning. This is a ritual duty, and the fat is not eaten because they like it. Sometimes a man who cannot stomach the fat will merely lick it with his tongue. No native explanation for this custom exists, but it is believed that some misfortune would befall the man who had neglected to eat the fat: he might cut himself while felling a tree, or fall from a tree and die. No one else sees these *Pundän*, and after the rites they are destroyed, even before the *malanggans*.

The next morning about a hundred men gather in the enclosure at Ponatlege. The two *Pundän* are out of sight in the separate little enclosure behind the *malanggan* house, in front of which the food is piled—two pigs, baked taro, bananas, and a species of chestnut (*koh*). Sola stands up and talks: "These two pigs belong to the concluding rites for the *malanggan*. We have made big rites for them. All the men and all the women ate pigs. Now to-day we, the men, but not the women, will eat pigs. Why have not all the men from Langania come? All the men from Lesu and Ambwa are here. The Langania men did not come because they are lazy." Sola now gives *tsera* to one man in payment for the pig. He has contributed the other one himself. The food is distributed according to traditional custom. After this Sola comes out adorned with a feather headdress, a bright red loin-cloth, a pig's liver hanging out of his mouth, the shark fishing rattle in one hand, and a smaller shell rattle in the other. *Kerapo* leaves are stuck in his armband. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down the centre of the enclosure and sings, or rather hums a wordless song. This performance is called *baeas*.

When the men have eaten there are speeches by the old

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general may be touched upon. The women have pain the first day, headache, and sometimes cramps, which diminish the second and third days. During their first menses they do not wash in the sea, but they do so during the succeeding ones. The attitude towards their monthly illness, in general, is that it is a nuisance. There is also a feeling of shame about it as far as men are concerned. The women would be very much ashamed to have men see their menstruating blood. In the past, when straw aprons were worn, they always inserted extra straw in them, and to-day they wear a black loin-cloth instead of a light-coloured one. There is no other protection. They do not have intercourse while they are menstruating, and regard such a custom as disgusting.

Some time within a month after the first menses the marriage rites are held. Betrothal has already been described.

WEDDING RITES

The husband-to-be has been making presents to his future wife and her clan relatives since he first secured their consent. Now come the final rites and the payment for the bride. Tsuros had her first menses in the beginning of November, and her wedding rites were held on November 23rd. Preparations began on November 14th, when all the women of Lesu went to Panat, the hamlet where Tsuros lives with her parents, to practise their dancing. The next day bananas were buried in the sand on the beach at Panat. From then on, until the day of the rites, the women practise their dances every night at this hamlet. Tsuros, the bride-to-be, is sometimes present participating in the rehearsal, but on other nights she is away crab-hunting on the reef. She does not dance during the rites, and her absence or presence at rehearsals seems to mean nothing to the other women. One night when the women were dancing around a fire and the full moon was shining upon them, they were in a

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particularly jolly mood, and began to laugh, "cut up," and not pay much attention to their dancing. The old men of the hamlet and a few others were sitting on one side watching them.[1] One old man stood up and called out angrily to the women to stop their laughing. He asks them if they thought they were playing, and if they do not realize that later all the men would be looking at them, and that then they must dance well. He also mentions the future payments of tobacco, with the suggestion that they must dance well to deserve them. After this short harangue the women control their laughter and dance more seriously.

On November 22nd, two nights before the wedding, the dancing becomes quite wild. Both *Telenga* and *Kongkong* women are dancing. Tsuros is in the house asleep. There is no taboo or other restriction against her participation; she is just tired and not interested. The women dance in a spirit of wild play, lifting up their loin-cloths, exposing themselves. The dancing continues throughout the night, and ends with some of the women having intercourse with the men who have been watching them. This is the rather promiscuous sexual intercourse which occasionally follows the dances. The taboo against sexual relationship between members of the same moiety holds, however, even at this time, so that there is never complete promiscuity.

The next day these same women, as well as women from the neighbouring village of Ambwa, are all at Panat early in the morning, preparing the taro for the feast. The usual cooking preparations occupy the entire day.

The day after the rites take place. In the open compound the Panat women from Lesu, Ambwa, Langania, and Kabil far outnumber the men, for only the men from Lesu are present. Two equally large piles of food, uncooked taro, bundles of baked taro, sugar-cane, bananas, coconuts, and

[1] This is one of the exceptional times when the men watch the women rehearsing their dances.

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pigs are conspicuously displayed. One heap has been contributed by the *Telenga* women (the same moiety as Tsuros), and the other by *Kongkong* women.

As soon as everyone has arrived, which is about an hour or so before noon, the dancing begins. The first dance called *Kapila* from one of the Tabar Islands is by the *Kongkong* women. It is performed in two-line formation. Next, the *Kongkong* women from Ambwa do their dance called *Kaya*. They are followed by *Kongkong* men from Lesu, who, dressed in leaf petticoats and armed with spears, do a warlike dance in two-line formation called *Rumus*. The fourth dance is by *Kongkong* women, mostly from the hamlet of Onel. All these dances are in honour of Tsuros (who is *Telenga*), and during the dancing her clan relatives fling presents of tobacco and loin-cloths to the dancers.

Now the *Telenga* people are supposed to dance in honour of Pirau, the bridegroom, who is *Kongkong*, but at the last moment these dances are called off because the sky looks as if rain will come down soon. (It is the beginning of the rainy season, and heavy deluges are an almost daily occurrence.) It is desired to finish the rites before the storm breaks.

Next comes the distribution of the marriage payment, which was made several months ago, when the circumcision rites were performed. At that time Pirau's parents had come from Kanopil, on the west coast, and given him five *tsera* collected from his clan relatives. He, in turn, gave it to Tsuros' maternal relatives (her mother, her maternal grandfather and grandmother). The payment was not made in public or ritually. They accepted it, and, after considering the matter, decided that there was not sufficient to give all Tsuros' *Telenga* relatives, to whom it was proper that payment be made. They foresaw that if they gave to some and not to others there would be much talk and gossip, which they must avoid in order not to diminish their social prestige. So the members of Tsuros' clan, her mother, her mother's

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535

A WAR DANCE

583

THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT. THE BRIDE'S CLAN RELATIVES ARE SITTING AROUND THE MAT ON WHICH THE PAYMENT RESTS. HER MATERNAL UNCLE IS HOLDING UP ONE STRING BEFORE DISTRIBUTING IT

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OTHER SERVICES

Besides magical and medical services, there are many others for which payment is made. Compensation is made for services of any kind. For instance, one man wanted to put a new roof on his house as the old one leaked. He spent a day in the bush collecting the necessary sago leaves, and the next day all the men from his hamlet and some from neighbouring ones helped him make the thatching. At the end of the day he gave them a feast and each man also received a stick of tobacco. Both the food and the tobacco are considered as payments for the assistance in thatching the roof. A few days later his father and brother helped him put the thatched leaves on the frame of the roof. This work took two days. There was no feast at the completion of the job, but each man received tobacco in payment. Similar payments are made for building a fence around a garden.

Those who participate in the dances at marriage, circumcision, and funeral rites receive payment. The dancers at *malanggan* rites, however, are not paid, except those who wear masks (*anis*). At the circumcision rites all the women who danced received food and tobacco from the women of Ponatlege, who were the mothers and clan relatives of the boys being circumcised.[1] When the food was distributed there was a speech indicating that it was in payment for the contribution of dancing. At the marriage rites of Tsuros all the dancers received tobacco and food. A few were given loin-cloths also. It will be remembered that at one of the rehearsals for these dances, when the women were laughing and not taking their dancing very seriously, they were reprimanded by an old man, who told them to dance better or they would not deserve the tobacco to be paid them later. At the all-night

[1] At the rites a month later, when the boys came out from their seclusion and the *malanggans* were displayed, the men who danced (with the exception of these wearing masks) were not paid.

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465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
535 were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
437 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration. The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensa-
767 tion is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had
616 been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
437 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

437 Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
837 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband. This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
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morning, just after sunrise, they set off, walking and carrying upon their shoulders the *malanggan*, completely covered with leaves. Two old men, Towi and Ridis, start a little in advance of the others because they cannot walk so fast and they want a good start. The men go off gaily and with an air of great importance. The women stand and chatter for a while and talk jestingly about how they are now all alone, and they ask rhetorically who will go and kill the bush pig.

About a week later the women go to Logagon, carrying bundles of uncooked taro with them, and a week after that —two weeks after the men have arrived—the preliminary rites are held. In the meantime the men have been busy rehearsing the dances, making costumes, masks, and painting the *malanggan*. The women from Lesu and Logagon have also been busy preparing the taro. A specially large communal cook-house has been erected for the occasion. The preliminary rites which have been postponed for the arrival of the Tabar men, who have been expected daily, are finally held on November 4th, even though the boat from Tabar has not come. It was decided that they could be delayed no longer.

The rites held are the most beautiful, from an aesthetic point of view, that I saw. They begin on the outside of the enclosure when two men with grass skirts and feather head-dresses, representing *gas*, come from the bush to the open compound, carrying shell rattles, which they keep vibrating. Then everyone goes into the enclosure, which contains the unpainted *malanggan*. The place is beautifully decorated, and the dancers are in their places ready to begin.

Each dancer wears a feather head-dress and carries a bird's beak in his mouth. These represent the birds, *kania*, who sit on logs and reefs in the sea and look at sharks. The dancers kneel in their places, and with hands clasped behind their backs sway in unison, which is a dramatization of the

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437 birds sitting on the reef or in trees. The effect is really lovely,
535 and is much appreciated by the audience.[1]

As soon as the dance is over there is a feast inside the
437 enclosure for the men, and one outside for the women. At
537 the men's feast there are three pigs and much baked taro. The bundles of food are opened up and served in the usual fashion by "waiters" on leaves. Then payments of *tsera* are given to Palou, the owner of the *malanggan*, and each man making the payment makes a short speech telling what the payment is for and how much it is.[2] After this Ongas, the Luluai from Lesu, makes a speech reciting the incidents leading up to the present occasion: how Poinbi came and asked them to make a *malanggan*; how they made it; how they have now been paid for it; and how Penguli can no longer make this particular *malanggan*. Throughout all the speeches the name of the hamlet of Penguli, and not that of the village of Lesu, is used.

437 In the meantime, while the men are eating and making payments and speeches, the women have their feast outside the enclosure in a manner peculiar to this *malanggan*. They sit in a square formation on the bamboo logs which have been laid on the ground to mark an enclosed space. Some are inside serving the food. Inside the square a little tree, *numales*,
[201] has been stuck in the ground, from which is hung a scraped, uncooked taro, painted with red stripes. This is a sign that the payments have been made. In the distribution of the food, pig and taro, the Lesu women take the lead, although most of the food comes from the women of Logagon. When the women finish eating, they stand up and circle around the square where they have been feasting, and sing.

437 For the next few days, after these preliminary rites, everyone is quite busy with preparations for the future rites. Very early every morning the women go to the gardens, which are

[1] This rite is called *Baummaen*.
[2] All the payments will be described in detail later.

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437 by Tukan, and he and four or five others, who are also
578 discontented, go back to Lesu several days before the rest. The situation never comes to a climax, and there is no open quarrel between Palou and Tukan; there is not even an exchange of words. Palou is Tukan's *tata*, mother's brother, and this relationship forbids Tukan from expressing his feelings of anger. His resentment has to be repressed and his only recourse is to leave. But if it had not been for this relationship there would have been an outspoken quarrel and probably a fight. In discussing the matter with the natives, it is interesting to note that they are fully aware of the principle that the anger is worse because it cannot be expressed, and this idea comes out quite spontaneously from them when they talk about the matter. Later, after all the Penguli people have returned to their own hamlet, Palou gives Tukan some additional *tsera*, and the matter is ended. Tukan himself, in talking it over with me afterwards, says that it was just a little dispute, because Palou is his maternal uncle; otherwise, he adds, it might have been a big quarrel.

437 Resuming the description of the concluding rites, which are held on the day after the final payments have been made, the women are busy scraping taro and with other usual cooking preparations for a feast. The Lesu women work with the Logagon women, although all along they have sat in separate groups. However, the Lesu women have been very sociable with the women of this village, and tell me that they get very little sleep, because they spend most of the night talking with the Logagon women. But despite this sociability they do not feel so very much at home, and say that they are tired and a bit homesick. They are anxious to get back to Lesu and their gardens, about which they are worried. However, they industriously continue with the preparations for the morrow's rites.

437 In the evening the men, women, and children participate
● 535 in a dance at the same time. (This is the first time I witnessed

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a dance in which both sexes took part.) It has two names, *Lumala* and *Pandawasik*. The dance is in circular formation, and each person shakes a shell rattle rhythmically. Both the Logagon and Lesu people are in it, and it is one of the special dances connected with this *malanggan*. It is supposed to be kept up all night, until dawn of the next day. But Logagon is the home of a Catholic Mission, and at ten o'clock the "Father" blows his whistle, the dancing stops, and everyone goes sedately home.

The next morning, shortly after sunrise, the women have a brief rehearsal of their dance. In the afternoon the rites begin with dancing, which continues for several hours. The men and women dance separately, and the dances are similar to the ones performed at other rites already described.

After the dances are finished there is a distribution of uncooked yams, taro, and twelve singed but uncooked pigs. There is no eating now; everyone carries his food home. During the distribution, which occurs in the open space in front of the enclosure and cook-house, the Lesu people remain within the cook-house, a little distance from where the apportionment is taking place. This is a sign that they do not wish any of the food which is being dispersed, for they will leave Logagon as soon as this is over and they do not want to be hindered on the long walk home by carrying bundles. The only thing they do take is sago, which they rarely get at Lesu.

They depart about sunset and walk all night, although if some are very tired they may stop at some place *en route*. They are all extremely anxious to return to their own village, for which there is a real nostalgia.

On Thursday, the day after the rites are over, Logagon people sleep all day. They are very tired.

The Lesu people left Wednesday about sunset, and got back to their own village at noon on Thursday. They are all exhausted and sleep for the rest of the day. But the next

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The death of Maling, an old woman, was not unexpected. She had been ill for a long time, and her daughter, Tubung, had been affectionately taking care of her. Her husband was already dead, and so was her son. Her sister's daughter's son, Soles, and her mother's brother's daughter's husband, Malalis, are the leading men of her clan. Because her death was expected any moment, Soles went to Ambwa, known for its good fishing, to make arrangements for securing a large catch of fish for the expected mortuary rites. The next day, in the middle of the afternoon Maling died, and immediately the wails were heard. Her daughter, Tubung, Soles, and Malalis led in the wailing, but soon they were joined by everyone in the hamlet and immediate community. The news of the death spread rapidly, and members of Maling's clan, many of them with their families, began arriving on the scene; the wails swelled in volume. In the meantime Maling's body was carried by Hawk women to the sea and washed. Maling was a member of the Eagle moiety, and the washing is always done by a member of the opposite moiety and the same sex. After the washing the same women put the corpse into a coffin, made of an old canoe with the pointed ends removed and a flat board put in their place, which was then placed in a room of the daughter's house. This house has two rooms, and the outer wall of the one in which the corpse was placed was removed, thus leaving it exposed to the compound. The women went to Tubung's garden and got taro, which they then piled on each side and in front of the coffin. Leaves were also stuck in with the taro. In front of the coffin was the bamboo *bāk*, a structure in which the corpse is supposed to rest, but which is not functioning. The relatives and other members of the community came and wailed over the coffin, but Tubung and Soles wailed the most continuously.

At nightfall the women of the village danced, while some of them beat out the rhythm on drums. The men looked

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on. This was kept up all night. In the morning the women went again to the gardens and brought in more taro, while women from other villages arrived, also carrying taro, which they hung on bamboo poles fastened between trees. In the afternoon the women were busy scraping the taro and preparing it to be baked in the *liga*, while the men singed pigs, wrapped the fish in leaves, and did their share in the preparations for the feast which would take place tomorrow. The wailing continued at the same time. In charge of these preparations were Soles and Malalis.

That night the men danced. About fifty of them, decorated with leaves and carrying spears which are longer than they are, circled around the fire. To the music of the drums, they continued their dancing during the night. When one group stopped, another began. The dances were mostly of the abstract and rather intricate, circle, square, and line formation. One group had their bodies painted with white powdered lime, leaves stuck behind as if they were tails, and as they danced rhythmically shook the shell rattles they carried in their hands. Hour after hour they went on. The men and women in the "audience" sat separately and watched them. When the dancers appeared to lag, Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, stood up, and holding a torch cried out that on the morrow they would receive tobacco. At daybreak they stopped. There was a little rest before the dead woman was carried into the cemetery. About the middle of the morning a group of twenty women of the Hawk moiety, their hair decorated with leaves, entered the compound singing. Tubung was wailing over the body of her dead mother. The group of women advanced in block formation to the coffin, and lifting it to their shoulders carried it into the cemetery. Tubung walked behind wailing. They deposited the coffin by the open grave which had previously been dug. The women immediately left the cemetery and stood weeping near the entrance. The men entered,

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a son or daughter, a nephew or uncle, on the mother's side, or a mother. The consort during this period is spending all his time wailing, and not taking any part in the actual preparations.

During this interval between death and burial there is a fairly large group of people assembled at the hamlet where the death occurred. All the clan relatives and their consorts—the extended family—and sometimes a few others are there. At night the sexes sleep separately. All the women sleep in one house and all the men in another, or perhaps the men sleep out of doors in a compound in front of a house. There is abstention from all sexual relations.

If the funeral is that of a very old person and the rites are being carried out in full detail dancing is part of the ceremonial. At the funeral of an old and important woman, Maling (her sister's son was a chief), there was dancing on the two nights which elapsed between the time of death and the burial. Maling died early in the day and that night all the women of the village and the neighbouring villages danced. The next night the men of the village and of neighbouring villages danced. On the following morning the corpse was buried. Each night dancing went on continuously until sunrise. Different groups danced, so that no one person danced all night long. The whole community (the village and neighbouring ones) was present as an audience. If the energy of the dancers appeared to flag, the daughter of the dead woman exhorted them to continue with promises of the payment which would later be made to them. The dances were the traditional ones used on all ritual occasions, and participants were members of the community, regardless of their kinship to the dead person. Dancing is a part of the rites only when the dead person is very old.

The actual burial, however, does not vary very much according to the age of the dead person. Some time in the interval preceding burial the corpse is put in its coffin, usually an old canoe with the pointed ends removed. Members of the opposite moiety carry the corpse from the house in which it has been resting into the cemetery. They are decorated with leaves and white lime is used as a facial adornment. These pall-bearers advance in a square formation, singing, lift up the corpse, circle around the compound two or three times with it and finally carry it into the cemetery. At the same

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the house of the dead person. These include usually the following: real and classificatory sons and daughters and their spouses, brothers and sisters, parents, nephews and nieces. This period of abstention from sexual intercourse lasts about three weeks and its end is marked by a feast. The initiative in terminating this period is taken by a clan relative (a brother in several cases observed). He holds the feast and at it announces the discontinuance of the sleeping taboo. During the time when these sex taboos are enforced all those implicated live in the hamlet where the death occurred. They not only sleep there, but cook, eat, and spend their entire time at this hamlet. One death occurred in the hamlet next to the one in which I was living, involving most of the people in my hamlet, which was consequently deserted for the three weeks following the death. The men spend their time sitting around the cemetery, talking and doing nothing. Their conversation is mostly about any practical affair that happens to engage their attention. After one death it was about the expected visit of the district officer to collect taxes, a very momentous affair in the life of the native, but having nothing to do with the recent death. Each day the men eat together in the cemetery. The women prepare the food together and remain in the compound to eat, but not with the men, instead of returning to their own house to eat, as they usually do. Some of these people are observing food taboos. The taboo is on eating taro, the staple food of the native, and is observed by parents or children, brothers or sisters, and husband or wife. This taboo is kept until a few days before the mourners go back to their ordinary sleeping arrangements, and its end is also marked with a feast, when one of those observing the taboo hits a baked pig on the back before it is cut up for the feast. The hitting of the pig is a signal that the taboo is lifted. If dance rehearsals happen to have been in progress they are discontinued for about ten days after the death.[10] A brother gives the signal for the resumption of the dance rehearsals by sounding the *kolamuth* (a hollowed tree trunk used as a drum). The native evidently makes a distinction between the

[10]Dance rehearsals are carried on for months before a rite, of which they are a part, is held.

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765 act of dancing and the symbol, or what the dancing represents.
535 While dance rehearsals are taboo in the period immediately preceding death and in the period following death, dancing is part of the burial rites, participated in by the whole community, and represents an outward expression of their feelings aroused by the death. But the dance rehearsals have no connection with death (they may be rehearsals for circumcision, marriage, or some other rite) and as such have no psychological association with the recent event and would mar the continuum of expressed community feeling after a burial.

769 The years following the death are marked by the making of a
532 *malaŋgon*, and the giving of many feasts. The *malaŋgon* is an
778 elaborate carving which varies in size and design. The carvings are divided into a number of large classifications, each of which is subdivided into smaller groups, and each division large and small has its own name. On a large number of them there is a figure for each dead relative for whom the *malaŋgon* is made, and sharks, birds, and fish are frequent in the design. There are also other
[427] carvings on which no figure of the dead relative occurs. The right to make a *malaŋgon* is owned by a clan, which can sell the right to another clan. The original owner then loses the right to make it and must buy the right to make a different *malaŋgon* from another clan. When the *malaŋgon* is made and displayed, there are elaborate rites continuing for months and including dancing, feasts and special rites, which vary according to each particular *malaŋgon*.

769 The *malaŋgon* is usually made by a maternal nephew or by a
532 son, if the dead person is a woman.[11] Occasionally other close clan
554 relatives may make one too. The time for the *malaŋgon* rites may
778 be a year after death, or it may be five years after death. The time depends on how long it takes to collect the wealth necessary for holding the rites. Frequently one carving will be made for several dead relatives at one time. As far as the writer was able to ascertain, the making of the *malaŋgon* and the rites concerning it

[11] The clan relative does not actually make the *malaŋgon* but pays a skilled carver to make it according to his directions.